

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1036

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 5531

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINR, RO

SUBJECT: CEAUSESCU'S TOP PERSONNEL CHANGES AT PARTY CONGRESS:

GRADUALIST PRUNING

1. SUMMARY. CEAUSESCU MADE NO RPT NO MAJOR OR SURPRISING CHANGES IN EITHER PERSONNEL OR LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE AT 11TH PARTY CONGRESS CONCLUDED NOVEMBER 28, BUT DID ADJUST SOMEWHAT MEMBERSHIP OF PREVIOUS RCP EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NOW RETITLED POLITICAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE). CHANGES GENERALLY REMOVE SOME OBVIOUS POLITICAL DEADWOOD WHILE ADVANCING CEAUSESCU FAVORITES. THOSE MOVING UP IN RANK ALL SEEM STAUNCH CEAUSESCU PARTISANS, GENERALLY WITH BENT FOR TECHNICAL COUNSEL AND EXECUTION BUT LACKING STATURE TO TAKE VERY INDEPENDENT STANCES. HOWEVER, NEW EXCO ALSO RETAINS MOST KEY SENIOR FIGURES FROM RCP PRESIDUM ABOLISHED IN MARCH, PARTICULARLY VIRGIL TROFIN, WHOSE RESILIENCE SOMEWHAT UNEXPECTED. RCP'S POST-MARCH PLENUM
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EQUILIBRIUM THOS NOT GREATLY MODIFIED. END SUMMARY.

2. PERMANENT BUREAU. PRESIDENTIAL AIDE CELAC TOLD WESTERN NEWSMAN THAT NEW PERMANENT BUREAU WILL BE "FORMED" BY, AND PRESUMABLY FROM, EXCO NOVEMBER 29, ALONG LINES ESTABLISHED IN MARCH, I.E. BY FUNCTION. CELAC SAID BUREAU HAS MET REGULARLY EVERY MONDAY SINCE MARCH, AND WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE THIS SCHEDULE (EXCO MEETS EVERY TWO WEEKS).

3. PARTY SECRETARIAT. SECRETARIES ARE NOW REDUCED TO SIX (PLUS CEAUSESCU) WITH ELIMINATION OF POLITICALLY WANING MIHAI GERE, WHO HAD APPARENTLY LOST ETHNIC MINORITIES DOSSIER IN MARCH. THIS CORRECTS POST-JULY ANOMALY OF TWO ETHNIC HUNGARIANS ON SECRETARIAT.

4. POLITICAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. EXCO, REDUCED FROM 41 TO 36 MEMBERS (23 FULL, 13 CANDIDATES), REMAINS OSTENSIBLE TOP PARTY POLICY ORGAN BETWEEN CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSIONS. NEW FULL MEMBERS (5) ARE:

-- EMIL BOBU, MINISTER OF INTERIOR, WHO ONLY JUST ATTAINED EXCO CANDIDATE MEMBERSHIP IN JULY. (A PARTY ACTIVIST AND FORMER FIRST SECRETARY IN SUCEAVA COUNTY, NEAR AGE 60, BOBU HAS NOW HELD OFFICE SINCE 1972, FOLLOWING PERIOD OF TURMOIL IN SECURITY ORGANS' LEADERSHIP. HE NOW OUTRANKS DEFMIN IONITA, STILL A CANDIDATE MEMBER. HIS RISE PERHAPS REFLECTS TIGHTENING ON ROMANIAN INTERNAL SCENE.)

-- CORNEL BURTICA (PARTY SECRETARY FOR PROPAGANDA AND IDEOLOGY), GHEORGHE OPREA (STILL CEAUSESCU'S CLOSE COUNSELOR ON DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND SINCE MARCH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER) AND ION PATAN (DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE, A CRITICAL GOR SECTOR), WHO ALL ENJOY CEAUSESCU'S SPECIAL CONFIDENCE.

-- IOSIF UGLAR, PARTY SECRETARY SINCE JULY (FORMER BOSS OF SATU MARE COUNTY WHO, WITH EXCO MEMBER JANOS FAZEKAS, IS NOW GOR'S LEADING ETHNIC HUNGARIAN).

5. MOST SENIOR EXCO MEMBERS FORMERLY ON PARTY PRESIDUM (IN EFFECT POLITBURO) WHICH CEAUSESCU ABOLISHED IN MARCH REMAIN. IN READING OUT LIST OF NEW EXCO TO CONGRESS, CEAUSESCU, EITHER IN JEST OR FREUDIAN SLIP, OMITTED VIRGIL TROFIN'S NAME, STOPPED, MURMURED IN ASIDE, "DID I READ TROFIN?" THEN CORRECTED HIMSELF. TROFIN'S ASSUMED POLITICAL DECLINE SINCE 1972 BECAME MORE EVIDENT

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WITH SPRING 1974 MOVE FROM CENTER TO HEAD BRASOV COUNTY.

6. FIVE DROPPED FROM FULL EXCO ARE ION GHEORGHE MAURER, RESPECTED EX-PRIME MINISTER, NOW RETIRED EVEN FROM NEW CC WHO IN HIS DAY SEEMINGLY EXERCISED MODERATING INFLUENCE ON CEAUSESCU WITH WHO HE HAD DIFFERENCES BUT PERSONAL BOND--PLUS OUT-OF-FAVOR DANALACHE AND DRAGAN, AND OLD-TIME NULLITY GHEORGHE STOICA, WHO MOVES TO CHAIRMANSHIP OF RCP AUDITING COMMISSION.

7. NEW EXCO CANDIDATE MEMBERS (4) ARE STEFAN ANDREI (YOUNG (44) HIGH-RIDING PARTY SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHO COULD HAVE MADE FULL MEMBER), NICOLAE GIOSAN (WHO REPLACED DECEASED EXCO MEMBER MIRON CONSTANESCU AS PRESIDENT OF ROMANIA'S GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (PARLIAMENT) IN JULY), ION URSU (REGIME'S TOP SCIENCE ADMINISTRATOR, REFLECTING INCREASED GOR EMPHASIS ON S&T IN COMING FIVE-YEAR PLAN), AND

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 5531

STOICA CHIVU, OLD-GUARD RCP LEADER AND ONE-TIME TITULAR HEAD OF STATE WHO CEAUSESCU HAS BROUGHT BACK APPARENTLY AS GESTURE TO CONTINUITY OF GENERATIONS.

8. FIVE DROPPED AS CANDIDATED EXCO MEMBERS ARE BABALAU (FIRED AS POWER MINISTER IN OCTOBER REPORTEDLY FOR INCOMPETENCE AND/OR MISTAKES), BLAJOVICH (SERB WHO WAS REMOVED TO COUNTY JOB IN SPRING 1973 RESHUFFLE), STANESCU (DROPPED TWO YEARS AGO FROM INTERIOR MINISTER TO COUNTY POST AFTER RUMORED SECRET POLICE

ERRORS), AND TWO WOMEN DANILA AND FILIPAS (WHOSE EXCO ELECTION IN 1972 ACCOMPANIED ELENA CEAUSESCU'S SIMILAR ELEVATION OSTENSIBLY TO SIGNAL UPGRADING OF WOMEN'S ROLE).

9. CENTRAL COMMITTEE. CC EXPANDS AGAIN, FROM 319 (186 FULL, 133 CANDIDATE) TO 361 (205 FULL, 156 CANDIDATE). UNDER NEW MULTIPLE CANDIDATE SYSTEM, MORE THAN 100 NOMINEES FAILED OF RECTION. CEAUSECSU TOLD CONGRESS THAT CC WAS ELECTED "QUASI-CONFIDENTIAL

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UNANIMOUSLY"; SEVERAL CANDIDATES RECEIVED ONE NEGATIVE VOTE AND ONE GOT THREE. (ANALYSIS BY SEPTET.)

10. CENTRAL PARTY COLLEGIUM AND AUDITING COMMISSION. COLLEGIUM, IN EFFECT THE PARTY'S WATCHDOG AND DISCIPLINARY BODY, EXPANDS FROM 8 TO 14 WITH ONLY ONE HOLDOVER, A MUCH HIGHER TURNOVER THAN IN 1969 AND GREATER THAN 1965, TWO PREVIOUS CONGRESSES, PERHAPS REFLECTING DISPLEASURE WITH MISTAKES IN PARTY CADRE WORK EXPRESSED IN PARLI SECRETARY PANA'S SPEECH.

11. COMJRESS'S MOST ENIGMATIC ASPECT REMAINS CEAUSESCU'S TURNDOWN OF BUCHAREST PARTY ORGANIZATION'S PROPOSAL TO MAKE HIM RCP GENERAL SECRETARY FOR LIFE. EXCO MEMBER D. POPESCU TOLD WESTERN NEWSMAN NOV 28 THAT MAYOR CIOARA "PERHAPS WAS A LITTLE TOO DYNAMIC" AND CIOARA HIMSELF TOOK LINE HE WAS ONLY FOLLOWING SENTIMENT OF HIS GRASSROOTS. CEAUSESCU, ACCORDING TO FRG SOURCE, TOLD EXCO BEFORE CONGRESS HE WOULD DECLINE. EE SOURCES SAY "FOREIGN REACTION" TO BUCHAREST INITIATIVE BEFORE CONGRESS, INCLUDING FROM WEST EUROPEAN CP'S, WAS UNFAVORABLE.

12. SPEECHES BY BOTH MIU DOBRESU (SUCEAVA FIRST SECRETARY) AND GHEORGHE PANA (PARTY SECRETARY FOR CADRES) AT COMDRESS APPEARED TO SEIZE ON CEAUSESCU'S TURNDOWN TO ARGUE AGAINST THOSE WHO THINK THEY HAVE LIFE TENURE IN PARTICULAR JOBS, LEADING TO SPECULATION THAT CEAUSESCU HAD PLANNED GESTURE ALL ALONG AS EXAMPLE TO CADRES RESISTING REASSIGNMENT OR DEMOTION. THIS SEEMS TOO BYZANTINE EVEN FOR ROMANIA, HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH TROUBLES ALONG THIS LINE IN SELECTING NEW CC WOULD APPEAR QUITE POSSIBLE AND PANA/DOBRESU MAY HAVE BEEN RESPONDING TO IT.

13. PERHAPS RELATED BUT EVEN MORE PUZZLING IS PARTY STATUTE AMENDMENT PROPOSBIZJN PLENARY BY P. BLAJOVIC (BIHOR FIRST SECRETARY DROPPED FROM EXCO) WHICH WOULD SET AGE LIMIT ON ELECTION TO ANY PARTY OFFICE "FROM OP TO BOTTOM". CEAUSESCU PERSONALLY ENTEJLD DEBATE AND OPPOSED IDEA IN SO FLAT EKFORM, WHICH WAS REFERRED BACK TO CC FOR REWORKING. BLAJOVIC ALSO COULD REPRESENT NEGATIVE REACTION OF PART OF PARTY LEADERSHIP LF BUCHAREST'S "FOR-LIFE" PROPOSAL, BUT POST-CONGRESS COMMENT BY ROMANIAN SOURCES STILL LACKING.

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